

GREEN-MOUNTAIN FREEMAN.

"Give me Liberty—or give me Death!"

VOLUME I.

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THE FREEMAN.

For the Green Mountain Freeman.

BR. ASPENWALL:—My year's labor ends this week; therefore I deem it right to send, for insertion in your paper, my account, with some remarks, which I hope will attract attention.

I have received monies as follows:—Bakersfield, \$10.75; Enosburgh, 1.00; Cabbot, 2.25; St. Johnsbury, 0.50; Underhill, 0.25; Essex, 0.50; Westford, 2.50; St. Albans, 1.25; Walden, 1.12; Danville, 0.82; Hardwick, 4.25; Berkshire, 2.75; Morrisville, 1.00; Stowe, 20.64; Barton, 4.84; Irasburgh, 2.25; Waterbury, 2.00; Brownington, 0.50; Glover, 4.15; Craftsbury, 10.18; Albany, 2.31; Greensboro', 8.90; which, errors excepted, makes an aggregate of \$87.21.

I will now submit a few remarks for the serious consideration of our liberty friends, to which I must beg their most candid attention, for we have a great work to do, and without means it cannot be done.

I must correct a mistake into which some of our liberty friends, I find, have fallen, and the correction will give information to others. Some suppose that the State committee are responsible to the lecturers for their salaries. An extract from my instructions will correct this. "You will be authorized to retain in your hands as a compensation for your services at the rate of four hundred dollars per annum for all the time you may devote to the interests of the liberty cause, but the committee will incur no pecuniary responsibility on your account."

I do not blame the committee for taking this ground, but then it places the lecturers in a most serious predicament. If the friends of liberty do not pay them, their labors must be labors of love; and in this case, and if they are men of families, and poor men, what must become of their families?

When I commenced my year's labor, I was assured that I should get my salary, but I have found it far otherwise. My labors entitle me to \$355, of which I have received only \$87.12; due to me, \$267.87; and I want every cent of it this moment to procure food and clothing for my large family, and pay some few debts. Indeed, what I have received will about pay my wear and tear. At first, I got very little for my exertions; later, it has been better and better, because I had to visit those towns that would help me, and avoid those where labor is not wanted; because I knew from experience I should get no support. I do not complain; I have confidence in the friends of liberty, that they will see the labors whom they sanction, paid. Let one thousand individuals hand me over 25 cents each, and my wants will be supplied, and my horse and wagon, also, will be redeemed, for the law has taken from me all it can take, and all this for want of attention to the Saviour's rule, "The laborer is worthy of his hire." Our liberty friends must attend to these matters, else our good Whigs and democrats will turn on them with "yes, you are pretty masters to censure and doom to blackness southern slaveholders for not paying their laborers; and you make your lecturers work for nothing." Shall they say this?—no.

2. But I beg the attention of our friends to a subject still more important than the above. We are doing a great work:—all that is dear and precious to human nature and to our country is involved in our object. We want a thorough system of faithful and intelligent lecturing in all our counties, all our towns, all our districts. Hitherto our lecturing has been chiefly confined to our villages, among our aristocrats, and it has been too much labor lost. Candor and honesty and influence, are in the districts; there we must labor; there we must kindle up the back fires, and there we shall carry our towns and counties, and then our state. But how is this thorough system to be secured? Very easy. Get the means first, friends, and then no doubt of the men; and I will put you into a very easy way of raising the means. Last fall, at a meeting in this county, a resolution was passed to assess each liberty man in fifty cents to support lecturing through all the districts in the county. The amount was about \$175. This secured nearly six months labor, and what has been the effect? Lamoille is the banner county. Now I say, why cannot all our counties adopt the same plan? Suppose we have four thousand liberty men in this State; would they not, if applied to, subscribe on an average fifty cents each, as their year's subscription for lecturing? This would procure two thousand dollars—bring at least five able men into the field—secure several months la-

bor in each county—call up general attention to the subject, produce a more powerful interest in the hearts of liberty men, and redeem the State from the fangs of slavery. I say again, if one county can adopt and work this system which has succeeded so admirably well, why cannot all? To produce a general interest in a case so important as ours, you must get all its friends to do a little. That which costs a man nothing he values but little. Get men to pay and you will make them feel; and when men feel, they will act. I say to our State committee, to our county committees, and to our town committees especially, urge this plan, bring it forward in all your county meetings, and take up your subscription paper at once and go round your towns and ask each man for his fifty cents, and then get your laborers and let them lecture, circulate tracts, get subscribers to the paper, and things will soon wear a new face. In the general, all that is wanted is information; and that is more wanted than we are aware. Let us betake to our work like men of business, and the sighs and tears, to groans, the bloody wounds, the cruel injustice of our fellow-men in chains will soon cease to stand forth against us, calling down the vengeance of heaven on our guilty heads.

J. GLEED.

Walcott, June 4, 1844.

For the Green Mountain Freeman.

Profession against Practice.

MR. EDITOR:—The Bible informs us that men have apostatized from God, and have entered into the service of the wicked one. And perhaps there is no case in which the fact appears more striking, than in the conduct of many professed Christians. They will pray that God will give us good men to rule over us, and then vote for men who have no fear of God before their eyes. They will labor to promote temperance, and then help to raise a winebibber to rule over the nation, and by his example promote the cause of intemperance amongst all that approach his person. They will hang a poor man who killed his neighbor, and give the highest honors to one, that is always ready to kill his neighbor in a duel, and has again and again tried to do it. They are as much opposed to slavery as any body, and are as zealous as any fanatics to have a slaveholder elected to the presidential chair, when he can exert a vast influence to extend and strengthen slavery. What does all this mean? Infidels look on, see how Christians act, say they are all hypocrites, and their religion is all phylactery. How can they help so thinking, when they see Christians, even Christian ministers, as eager to choose a wicked man, who has no fear of God before his eyes, as other men, who turn their backs upon God, and cast his laws behind them? Is it strange, that iniquity, riots, murders, assassinations, and vice in every form, is coming in like a flood, when the church throws in her influence to place the highest honors upon ungodly men, who live upon the hire of the laborer, sell a girl for a harlot, and shed the blood of the innocent. Christians, for mere party political purposes, willing to choose wicked men, whom God abhors, when they might choose men of God to rule over them. Surely this is choosing the greater of two evils; or rather it is doing evil that good may come, whose damnation is just. Will those Christians in Vermont, who mean to stifle conscience, and do what they have heretofore called a little evil, that some supposed, but uncertain good, may come, ponder well what the apostle says: "Whose damnation is just!" Take this awful declaration, ye professors of the religion of Jesus, and carry it with you, when you go to deposit your votes for a slaveholder, a duelist, a Free Mason, and if you dare, put it in—but remember that your damnation will be just!

MR. CLAY'S RETURN FROM HIS SOUTHERN PILGRIMAGE—ARRIVAL AT LEXINGTON—GREAT SENSATION—TORCH-LIGHTS—SPEECHES—SONGS, &c.

LEXINGTON, KY., Saturday eve., May 18, 1844.

MR. EDITOR:—If you have not a regular correspondent here, it is hoped a line from an occasional one may not be unacceptable to your readers. They know, I presume, that Mr. Clay left home last fall on a jaunt of observation, or to see and be seen in the States of the far South. I do not propose to discuss this journey at all, but it may be well to recollect that there are three distinct streaks or layers, of politics in this country, all of which require to be carefully noted by him who professes to play for high stakes on the national chess-board. There are your States of the North—your Bunker Hill people—with their strong tendencies to free principles, their personal interest in free industry, equal rights, protection and fair wages. Here are our northern slave States, at a dead stand-still, under the blighting curse of slavery, with the admission on their lips, and the evidences all around them, that it is an enormous moral, political and social calamity; but one for which, they say, the present generation are not to be charged with crime, nor expected to take practical and decisive steps for its removal. Then come the southern slave States—the hereditary oligarchy, the amateur fire-eaters; they swear fealty to eternal slavery—they claim all the powers of the government for its maintenance, as the leading object for which the Union was established. All the separate and distinct elements, tastes, habits and propensities, must be regarded, moulded, conjoined and used by the wise tactician, the successful aspirant. It is not impossible that it was with some such view of the case, that Mr. Clay's late tour was undertaken. However that may be, he was expected home this evening. Just at daylight down, the court house bell was set jingling like all possessed, and five black men, with drums and fifes, were started through the streets. Such a pie-bald group! Men,

women, children, black, white, with all the intermediate shades that human imagination can paint, or human depravity beget, were all commingled, gaping and staring in expectation of his arrival—the hero of their stupid idolatry. The young men and boys—say 100 or 150—appeared with torch-lights, and by these Mr. Clay was escorted thro' the streets to his home, without alighting. This ceremony closed, the idlers about the streets—say 1000, less or more—called for speeches. We are great for stumping, you know. Ex-governor Metcalf, accidentally present, was called out, and did off a stump speech in the usual style of unmeasured glorification on the one side and of vituperation on the other. Governor Letcher and John Speed Smith were both loudly called for, but without a response. "Coombs—Gen. Coombs!" the clamor rang. The general mounted the rostrum to say he could not make a speech, having just come from a long tour in the country. After a terrible beating of the air and strange vociferations by a young doctor, who was called out, the remnant of the already dissolved multitude disappeared from the streets. Certain elect high church Whigs gathered around the bar, to clear their voices by all sorts of exhilarating fluids—now for the songs! It is now just upon high twelve, and between damning up Whiggery and Harry Clay, and cursing down locoisim and Van Buren, and drinking brandy, and singing ribald songs, I begin to think there will not be much quiet sleep in this house to-night. I have no comments to make—you may do it.

Did you ever think of it? How strange that people should come from the plains of Saratoga, from Concord, old Lexington and Bunker Hill—from the living achievements of free arms and free spirits, to this land of soulless slavery, amid its withered, perishing emblems, for a presidential candidate! It can't—it won't be so always—I am sure of it! Think of free, toil-worn men, with their eyes open, intrusting their dearest interests to the hands of a so-called statesman, all the effectual laborers of whose State—170,000 of them are owned—the property of 31,000 oligarchs, and himself the chiefest of them all! What blind infatuation!

Last Monday afternoon, Thomas F. Marshall gave a speech here, three hours long, in favor of Texas. He was followed in the evening by C. M. Clay. It is generally thought by sensible people, that Marshall did not enjoy a very brilliant triumph. Tom has just mounted this miserable hobby—he is nobody's man in particular, but hates Henry Clay. He is a little coquish towards the locos, and not improbably, may temporarily join them, if they work to suit him. His influence beyond the sound of his voice is nothing, in any quarter.

This is Cassius M. Clay's home, you know. A genuine man he is. Perhaps you may think his present position a little awry. Be it so. He is with you heart and soul. The present emergency passed, you will find him a strong, true man. You can scarcely conceive the embarrassments and perils that beset an avowed friend of freedom here, from friends and foes. There are some large slaveholders in this community who promise to follow C. M. Clay's example in freeing their slaves.

We have around us here, the Eden of Kentucky, not to say, of the continent rich, charming land, and the most delicious scenery. But what avails it? There are large estates amassed, expensive establishments, literary and social institutions for the rich, the haughty oligarchy. But the middling and the poor, what of them—nothing designed. Society in its substantial, expansive, reproductive energies, is stationary, or rather receding. So throughout the State. Let liberty men and women at the North, do with their might what their hands find to do,—else a horrible night of darkness is about to close around us!

Yours respectfully,
AN EYE WITNESS.

The Presidential Candidates on the Texas Question.

James K. Polk.

COLUMBIA, TENN., April 23d, 1844.

Gentlemen:—Your letter of the 30th ult., to which you have done me the honor to address me, reached my residence during my absence from home, and was not received until yesterday. Accompanying your letter, you transmit to me as you state, "a copy of the proceedings of a meeting of the citizens of Cincinnati, appointed without distinction of party, on the 29th inst., to express their settled opposition to the annexation of Texas to the United States." You request of me "an explicit expression upon this question of annexation." Having at no time entertained any opinions upon public subjects which I was unwilling to avow, it gives me pleasure to comply with your request. I have no hesitation in declaring that I am in favor of the immediate re-annexation of Texas to the territory and government of the United States. I entertain no doubt as to the power or the expediency of the re-annexation. The proof is clear and satisfactory to my mind, that Texas ever constituted a part of the territory of the United States, the title to which I regard to have been as indisputable as that to any other portion of our territory. At the time the negotiation was opened with a view to acquire the Floridas, and the settlement of other questions, and pending that negotiation, the Spanish government itself was satisfied of the validity of our title, and was ready to recognize a line far west of the Sabine, as the true western line of Louisiana, as defined by the treaty of 1803, with France, under which Louisiana was acquired. This negotiation, which had first been opened at Madrid, was broken off and transferred to Washington, where it was resumed and resulted in the treaty of Florida, by which the Sabine was fixed upon as the western boundary of Louisiana. From the ratification of the treaty of 1803 with France, until the treaty of 1819 with Spain, the territory now constituting the republic of Texas belonged to the United States. In 1819 the Florida treaty was concluded at Washington by Mr. J. Q. Adams (then Secretary of State) on the part of the United States, and Don Genis de Onis on the part of Spain, and by that treaty this territory lying west of the Sabine, and constituting Texas, was ceded by the United States to Spain. That the Rio del Norte, or some more western boundary than the Sabine could have been obtained had it been insisted on by the secretary of State, and that without increasing the consideration paid for the Floridas, I have not a doubt. In my judgment, the country west of the Sabine, and now Texas, was most unwisely ceded away. It is a part of the great valley of the Mississippi, directly connected by its navigable waters with the Mississippi river, and having been once a part of the Union, it should never have

been dismembered from it. The government and people of Texas, it is understood, not only give their consent, but are anxious to be re-united to the United States. If the application of Texas for a re-union and admission into our confederacy, shall be rejected by the United States, there is imminent danger that she will become a dependency, if not a colony of Great Britain—an event which no American patriot, anxious for the safety of his country, could permit to occur without the most strenuous resistance. Let Texas be reunited, and the authority and laws of the United States be established within her limits, as also in the Oregon territory, and let the fixed policy of the government be, not to permit Great Britain, or any other foreign power to plant a colony or hold dominion over any portion of the people or territory of either. These are my opinions, and without deeming it necessary to extend this letter, by the many various reasons which influenced me in the conclusions to which I come, I regret to be compelled to differ so widely from the views expressed by yourselves, and the meeting at Cincinnati whom you represent. Differing, however, with you and with them, as I do, it was due to your frankness that I should be thus explicit in the declaration of my opinions.

I am with great respect, your obedient serv't.
JAMES K. POLK.
To Messrs. S. P. Chase, Thos. Heaton, T. Finkbine, Gamaliel Bailey, jr. Samuel Lewis, committee, &c., Cincinnati, Ohio.

Henry Clay.

RALEIGH, April 17, 1844.

To the Editors of the National Intelligencer:—Subsequent to my departure from Ashland, in December last, I received various communications from popular assemblies and private individuals, requesting an expression of my opinion upon the question of the annexation of Texas to the United States. I have forborne to reply to them, because it was not very convenient, during the progress of my journey, to do so, and for other reasons. I did not think it proper, unnecessarily, to introduce at present, a new element among the other exciting subjects which agitate and engross the public mind. The rejection of the overture of Texas, some years ago, to become annexed to the United States, had met with general acquiescence. Nothing had since occurred materially to vary the question. I had seen no evidence of a desire being entertained, on the part of any considerable portion of the American people, that Texas should become an integral part of the United States. During my sojourn in New Orleans, I had, indeed, been greatly surprised, by information which I received from Texas, that, in the course of last fall, a voluntary overture had proceeded from the Executive of the United States to the authorities of Texas, to conclude a treaty of annexation; and that, in order to overcome the repugnance felt by any of them to negotiate on the subject, strong, and as I believed, erroneous representations had been made to them of a state of opinion in the Senate of the United States, favorable to the ratification of such a treaty. According to these representations, it had been ascertained that a number of Senators, varying from thirty-five to forty-two, were ready to sanction such a treaty. I was aware, too, that holders of Texas lands and Texas scrip, and speculators in them, were actively engaged in promoting the object of annexation. Still, I did not believe that any Executive of the United States, would venture upon so grave and momentous a proceeding, not only without any general manifestation of public opinion in favor of it, but in direct opposition to strong and decided expressions of public disapprobation. But it appears that I was mistaken. To the astonishment of the whole Nation, we are now informed that a treaty of annexation has been actually concluded, and is to be submitted to the Senate for its consideration. The motives for my silence, therefore, no longer remain, and I feel it to be my duty to present an exposition of my views and opinions upon the question, for what they may be worth, to the public consideration. I adopt this method, as being more convenient than several replies to the respective communications which I have received.

I regret that I have not the advantage of a view of the treaty itself, so as to enable me to adapt an expression of my opinion to the actual conditions and stipulations which it contains. Not possessing that opportunity, I am constrained to treat the question according to what I presume to be the terms of the treaty. If, without the loss of national character, without the hazard of foreign war, with the general concurrence of the nation, without any danger to the integrity of the Union, and without any unreasonable price for Texas, the question of annexation were presented, it would appear in quite a different light from that in which I apprehend, it is now to be regarded.

The United States acquired a title to Texas, extending, as I believe, to the Rio del Norte, by the treaty of Louisiana. They ceded and relinquished that title to Spain by the treaty of 1819, by which the Sabine was substituted for the Rio del Norte as our western boundary. This treaty was negotiated under the Administration of Mr. Monroe, and with the concurrence of his Cabinet, of which Messrs. Crawford, Calhoun and Wirt, being a majority, all southern gentlemen, composed a part.—When the treaty was laid before the House of Representatives, being a member of that body, I expressed the opinion, which I then entertained, and still hold, that Texas was sacrificed to the acquisition of Florida. We wanted Florida; but I thought it must, from its position, inevitably fall into our possession; that the point of a few years, sooner or later, was of no sort of consequence, and that in giving five millions of dollars and Texas for it, we gave more than a just equivalent. But if we made a great sacrifice in the surrender of Texas, we ought to take care not to make too great a sacrifice in the attempt to re-acquire it.

My opinions of the inexpediency of the treaty of 1819 did not prevail. The country and Congress were satisfied with it, appropriations were made to carry it into effect, the line of the Sabine was recognized by us as our boundary, in negotiations both with Spain and Mexico, after Mexico became independent, and measures have been in progress to mark the line from the Sabine to Red river, and thence to the Pacific Ocean. We have thus fairly alienated our title to Texas by solemn national compacts, to the fulfillment of which we stand bound by good faith and national honor. It is therefore perfectly idle and ridiculous, if not dishonorable, to talk of resuming our title to Texas as if we had never parted with it. We can no more do that than Spain can resume Florida, France Louisiana, or Great Britain the thirteen colonies, now composing a part of the United States.

During the administration of Mr. Adams, Mr. Poinsett, minister of the United States at Mexico,

was instructed by me, with the President's authority, to propose a re-purchase of Texas; but he forebore even to make an overture for that purpose. Upon his return to the United States, he informed me, at New Orleans, that his reason for not making it was, that he knew the purchase was wholly impracticable, and he would have no other effect than to aggravate irritations already existing, upon matters of difference between the two countries.

The events which have since transpired in Texas are well known. She revolted against the government of Mexico, flew to arms, and finally fought and won the memorable battle of San Jacinto, annihilating a Mexican army, and making a captive of the Mexican president. The signal success of that revolution was greatly aided, if not wholly achieved, by citizens of the United States who had emigrated to Texas. These succors, if they could not always be prevented by the government of the United States, were furnished in a manner and to an extent which brought upon us some national reproach in the eyes of an impartial world. And in my opinion, they impose on us the obligation of scrupulously avoiding the imputation of having instigated and aided the revolution with the ultimate view of territorial aggrandizement. After the battle of San Jacinto, the United States recognized the independence of Texas, in conformity with the principle and practice which have always prevailed in their councils, of recognizing the government "de facto," without regarding the question *de jure*. That recognition did not affect or impair the rights of Mexico, or change the relations which existed between her and Texas. She, on the contrary, has preserved her rights, and has continued to assert, and, so far as I know, yet asserts, her right to reduce Texas to obedience, as a part of the Republic of Mexico. According to late intelligence, it is probable that she has agreed upon a temporary suspension of hostilities; but if that has been done, I presume it is with the purpose, upon the termination of the armistice, of renewing the war and enforcing the rights, as she considers them.

This narrative shows the present actual condition of Texas, so far as I have information about it. If it be correct, Mexico has not abandoned, but perseveres in the assertion of her rights by actual force of arms, which, if suspended, are intended to be renewed. Under these circumstances, if the government of the United States were to acquire Texas, it would acquire, along with it the incumbrances which Texas is under, and among them the actual or suspended war between Texas and Mexico. Of that consequence there cannot be a doubt. Annexation and war with Mexico are identical. Now, for one, I certainly am not willing to involve this country in a foreign war for the object of acquiring Texas. I know there are those who regard such a war with indifference, and as a trifling affair, on account of the weakness of Mexico, and her inability to inflict serious injury upon this country. But I do not look upon it thus lightly. I regard all wars as great calamities, to be avoided, if possible, and honorable peace as the wisest and truest policy of this country. What the United States most need are union, peace and patience. Nor do I think that the weakness of a Power should form a motive, in my case, for inducing us to engage in or to deprecate the evils of war. Honor and good faith and justice are equally due from this country toward the weak as toward the strong. And if an act of injustice were to be perpetrated toward any power, it would be more compatible with the dignity of the nation, and, in my judgment, less dishonorable, to inflict it upon a powerful instead of a weak foreign nation. But are we perfectly sure that we should be free from injury in a state of war with Mexico? Have we any security that countless numbers of foreign vessels, under the authority and flag of Mexico, would not prey upon our defenceless commerce in the Mexican Gulf, on the Pacific Ocean, and on every other sea and ocean?

What commerce on the other hand, does Mexico offer, as an indemnity for her losses, to the gallantry and enterprise of our countrymen? This view of the subject supposes that war would be confined to the United States and Mexico as the only belligerents. But we have no certain guaranty that Mexico would obtain no allies among the great European powers? Suppose any such powers, jealous of our increasing greatness, and disposed to check our growth and cripple us, were to take part in behalf of Mexico in the war, how would the different belligerents present themselves to Christendom and the enlightened world? We have been seriously charged with an inordinate spirit of territorial aggrandizement; and without admitting the justice of the charge, it must be owned that we have made vast acquisitions of territory within the last forty years. Suppose Great Britain and France, or one of them, were to take part with Mexico, and, by a manifesto, were to proclaim that their objects were to assist a weak and helpless ally, to check the spirit of encroachment and ambition of an already overgrown republic, seeking still further acquisitions of territory, to maintain the independence of Texas, disconnected with the United States, and to prevent the future propagation of slavery from the United States, what would be the effect of such allegations upon the judgment of an impartial and enlightened world?

Assuming that the annexation of Texas is war with Mexico, is it competent to the treaty-making power to plunge this country into war, not only without the concurrence of, but without deigning to consult Congress, to which by the Constitution, belongs exclusively the power of declaring war?

I have hitherto considered the question upon the supposition that the annexation is attempted without the assent of Mexico. If she yield her consent, that would materially affect the foreign aspect of the question, if it did not remove all foreign difficulties. On the assumption of that assent, the question would be confined to the domestic considerations which belong to it, embracing the terms and conditions upon which annexation is proposed. I do not think that Texas ought to be admitted into the Union, as an integral part of it, in decided opposition to the wishes of a considerable and respectable portion of the Confederacy. I think it far more wise and important to compose and harmonize the present Confederacy, as it now exists, than to introduce a new element of discord and distraction into it. In my humble opinion, it should be the constant and earnest endeavor of American statesmen to eradicate prejudices, to cultivate and foster concord, and to produce general contentment among all parts of our Confederacy. And true wisdom, it seems to me, points to the duty of rendering its present members happy, prosperous, and satisfied with each other, rather than to attempt to introduce alien members, against the common consent, and with the certainty of deep dissatisfaction. Mr. Jefferson expressed the opinion, and others be-